

course of their distinguished leaders here to justify the imputation of abolition sentiments to them. I refer to it the slave, not less than justice to the master, recommends the policy of diffusion and extension into any new terri-

to show that the doctrine of the perfect equality of rights, social and political, accorded to and claimed for all races and conditions of mankind, by the principles of pure democracy, as expressed in the favorite watchwords, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, is one of the distracting

South may well look to the elements of the times, who the North as well as the jealousy of southern influence and control, and the long line of southern chiefs who have succeeded to the presidency, have been the passions and passions which, more than any others, have decided the policy of the North upon this subject. But however natural and inevitable the existence of such passions and influences, under the peculiar circumstances of our system, involve the justice of my northern friends, if not their duty, to consider the passions and sensibilities naturally incident to the South, under the prospect of their declining power and influence in the confederacy. While that protracted domination of the South, which has been so long and so keenly felt at the North, was always more imaginary than real, yet the influence of the South has been the presidency except by the concurrence of others more than half, and always of a large division of the North—yet now it cannot be disguised that the period of southern ascendancy—if it ever had a real exist-

of the whole North. The annexation of Texas just consummated, accompanied by a stipulation for the admission of Texas as a slave State, was a blow to the North. Her territory, and then, following close upon the heels of this measure, a proposition for the further acquisition of territory in the same quarter, gave new activity to every Southern feeling and prepared the way for an increased fierceness to the feelings of fanaticism; revived every dormant passion of jealousy or resentment which had, in times past, been engendered by the triumph of the South over northern men and northern policy. The consequence was, that the North, in the eyes of the declarator of the free States, that whatever acquisition of territory might be the result of the war should be *free territory*.

The South it is well known that, while the wages were opposed both to the war itself and the policy of further acquisition of territory, the democratic party, North and South, were earnest in the support of both; but with what wisdom or with what particular views of southern interests, or with what particular views of the interests of southern gentlemen, in the face of the declaration of the North that whatever might be acquired should be free, is yet a mystery to me. It is fair to presume, however, that the Southern gentlemen were not, as we are told, without a clear view of the consequences that would follow from the acquisition of territory, and that they were not without some additional protection to their peculiar condition and institutions.

But, sir, as to myself, I shall hold fast to the constitutional principle, and see that I should not interpose any barrier to abridgment of the rights of the States, or to any abridgment of the rights of the people, and I trust that some final adjustment of all these distracting questions will yet be devised and adopted upon a basis so just and reasonable as not only to stay the progress of disunion, but to furnish to the people of the United States a more solid basis of institutions or of sectional interests, or any other cause

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known and boundless fertility and resources was supposed to be thrown open to our citizens; and, under the influence of the popular imagination, we were to grandeur these amazing results—achieved in the short space of four years—pointed to the imagination, the popular feeling, despite all forebodings and warnings of impending evil, rose to enthusiasm. Plans were sung in household, and the dominion of the day was the policy of the authors of a policy, once so grand and successful. The democracy, North and South, congratulated themselves upon their brilliant achievements for the country, and upon the prospects of continued and permanent power which they had secured. "We had not," they perceived that all their well-laid schemes of party aggrandizement were likely to fail them. Dissection, open, undisguised, and formidable, showed itself in their ranks; and the southern democracy, especially, began to suspect that the African race, which they had so long regarded as their own, had got what they did not expect, and did not want—a vast accession of territory in which slavery was practically forbidden by the unalterable laws of Nature, if not by human laws; and, so far as the preservation of an equilibrium of power between the North and South was concerned, the protection of southern interests, they found they had struck a blow that might prove fatal to those interests. They had insisted upon the immediate annexation of Oregon, and thereby provided for the future admission of two if not four new Free States into the Union. California, which they had so long coveted, they were likely to increase the preponderance of the North, by at least four additional Free States; and how to retrieve this unfortunate result of the war and acquisition policy is the problem to be solved.

And now, the sketch of the past which I proposed. An hour, the sketch of the late acquisition of territory, pathos which they had not thought to expect. Now, I proceed briefly to refer to the history of African slavery in the United States, its present condition, its effects upon the slaves themselves, and upon the country, of which it is so striking a feature.

For the purpose of my argument, the origin and progress of slavery in the United States may be briefly told. Without pretending to accuracy of detail, it may be stated with sufficient conformity to historical fact, that some century and a half ago, or a little more, a few thousand native African slaves were introduced into America with the so-called "negroes" of the Caucasian race; scarcely bearing the impress of the human race divine; savage in their habits, both of war and of peace; ferocious as the wild beasts of their own native hamlets—were caught up from the forests of Africa, and sold into the hands of the slaveholders, and they and their descendants held in slavery until this day. But what do we now behold? These thousand savages have become a great people; numbering three millions of souls; civilized, christianized; seeking to improve their condition, and to free themselves from mental and physical, and indicating some further approximation to the race of their masters. Search the annals of all history, and where do you find a fact so striking and wonderful—one so worthy the contemplation of the philosopher, the statesman, the legislator, the moralist, the poet, and the patriot, as stands out boldly before the world; and, in the impressive language of the senator from Missouri, (Mr. BENTON) "it stands for an answer." And it must ever stand for an answer. Sir, it can never be successfully answered. Has humanity caused to drop a tear, for the record of this great fact. Has Africa any cause to mourn?

But there are some other and subordinate facts which

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ber, that though no special favor may seem to be due from them to those of the South who, in defiance of the repeated protests of the North against the extension of slave territory, insisted upon the acquisition of these territories, yet to remember that the policy of those acquisitions was approved by the great majority of the people of the North, and that number of the most leading southern gentlemen in Congress and out of it, foreseeing the evil consequences to the whole country, which would probably, if not inevitably follow, opposed themselves manfully and resolutely to the current of sentiment in the North, and resisted the annexation of Texas, as well as the acquisition of California, is to be just to the South. They may also well remember that, without the co-operation of the North itself, these distracting questions would never have been heard of. The North, too, would insist upon these new acquisitions; nor can it justly say to the South, "thou didst this thing." I cannot forbear further to re-

ber, that though no special favor may seem to be due from them to those of the South who, in defiance of the repeated protests of the North against the extension of slavery territory, have acquired the rights of citizenship, yet I can remember that the policy of those acquisitions was opposed by a respectable portion of the southern people, and that a number of the most leading southern gentlemen in Congress and out of it, were opposed to the extension of slavery into the new counties which would probably, if not inevitably follow, opposed themselves manfully and resolutely to the current of sentiment in the South, and resisted the annexation of Texas, as well as the extension of slavery into the new territories. They may also well remember that, without the co-operation of the North itself, these distracting questions would never have been heard of. The North, too, would insist upon the right of the South to determine for herself whether "thou didst this thing." I cannot forbear further to remind my northern friends, that in the South and Southwest there is a body of men who, for a long period, were contented and justly so, with the preservation of their favorite policy, through every vicissitude of political fortune—a body of men of liberal and catholic views of national policy, who look beyond the limited horizon of sectional interests, spare the feelings of the seceder, and embrace the whole Union as their common country.

I am not to be deluded, Mr. President, by the appeals

from the North upon the subject, or submit wrongs and violations of human rights, or any other slave extension to the real and true grounds of the anti-slavery policy of the North, by any fine sentiments so often expressed on the subject of freedom and the claims of humanity. I know, sir, that, however sincere and conscientious the anti-slavery sentiment at the North may be,

from the North upon the subject of human wrongs and the violation of human rights, and that the policy of the North, as expressed in the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, by the fine sentiments so often expressed on the subject of freedom and the claims of humanity, is known to be the same as the policy of the South, as expressed in the anti-slavery sentiment at the North may be neither the cause of freedom, nor a sentiment of humanity, is the active principle of the non-extension policy of the North. It is the policy of the North to deny to the slave the right of service upon a single human being nor free, there is no man living to whom such a proposition would be more revolting than to myself. But, sir, humanity to